

THE LAST
Speech & Behaviour
 OF
William late Lord Russel,

Upon the Scaffold in *Lincolns-Inne-Fields*,
 A little before his Execution, on *Saturday, July 21. 1683.*

BEING
 Condemned for **HIGH-TREASON**
 in Conspiring the Death of the KING and the Sub-
 version of the Government, &c.

Together with the **PAPER** delivered by him to the
 Sheriffs, and signed with his own Hand.

ALSO
 The last Speeches, Behaviour, and Prayers
 OF

Capt. THOMAS WALCOT,
JOHN ROUSE Gent. &
WILLIAM HONE Joyner,

A little before their Execution at *Tyburn*, on *Friday the 20th of July 1683.*
 Being Condemned for High-Treason in Conspiring, &c.

Impartially Taken, and Published by Authority.

*We do Appoint Thomas Fox to print the Speeches and Papers
 of the late Lord Russel, Capt. Walcot, John Rouse, and
 William Hone; and that no other person presume to print
 the same.*

Saturday, July 21. 1683.

Dudley North.
 P. Rich.

LONDON: Printed by J. C. and F. C. for Thomas Fox at the Angel
 in Westminster-hall. 1 6 8 3.





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T H E

Last Speech and Carriage,

O F T H E

L O R D R U S S E L, upon the Scaffold, &c.

On Saturday the 21st. of July, 1683.

ABout Nine in the Morning, the Sheriffs went to Newgate, to see if my Lord Russel was ready; and in a little time his Lordship came out, and went into his Coach taking his Farewel of his Lady, the Lord Cavendish and several other of his Friends at Newgate; in the Coach were Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Burnet, who accompanied him to the Scaffold built in Lincoln-Inn-fields, which was covered all over with Mourning. Being come upon the Scaffold, his Lordship bowed to the Persons present, and turning to the Sheriff made this following Speech.

Mr. SHERIFF.

I Expected the Noise would be such, that I should not be very well heard. I was never fond of much speaking, much less now, therefore I have set down in this Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from designs against the King's Person, or of altering the Government. And I still pray for the preservation of both, and of the Protestant Religion.

Mr. Sheriff, I am told, that Caps. Walcot Yesterday said some things concerning my knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true or not.

Mr. Sheriff, I did not hear him name your Lordship.

Writer. No, My Lord, your Lordship was not named by any of them.

Lord Russel. I hope it is not, for to my knowledge I never saw him, nor spoke with him in my whole Life; and in the words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the King's Life or the Government. But I have now done with this World and am going to a better, I forgive all the World heartily, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animosities. I pray God forgive them, and continue the Protestant Religion amongst them, that it may flourish so long as the Sun and Moon endure. I am now more satisfied to die then ever I have been.

Then kneeling down, his Lordship prayed to himself, after which Dr. Tillotson knelt down and prayed with him, which being done his Lordship kneeled down, and prayed a second time to himself, then pulled off his Wig, put on his Cap, took off his Cravat, and Coat, and bidding the Executioner, after he had lain down a small moment, do his Office without a Sign, he gave him some Gold, then embracing Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Burnet, he laid him down with his Neck upon the Block.

The Executioner missing at his first stroke, though with that he took away Life, at two more severed the Head from the Body: The Executioner held up the Head to the People, as is usual, in Cases of Treason, &c. Which being done Mr. Sheriff ordered his Lordships Friends or Servants to take the Body, and dispose of it as they pleased, being given them by his Majesties Favour and Bounty.

The Paper delivered to the Sheriffs by My L^d. Russel.

I Thank God, I find my self so composed and prepared for Death, and my Thoughts so fixed on another World, that I hope in God, I am now quite weaned from setting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear spending some time now, in setting down In Writing a fuller Account of my Condition, to be left behind me, than I'll venture to say at the Place of Execution, in the Noise and Clutter that is like to be there. I bless God heartily for those many Blessings, which he in his infinite Mercy has bestowed upon me, through the whole Course of my Life: That I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantages of a Religious Education; which I have often thank'd God very heartily for, and look'd upon as an invaluable Blessing: For even when I minded it least it still hung about me, and gave me Checks, and hath now for many Years so influenced and possessed me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been so wonderfully (I thank God) supported, that neither my Imprisonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to discompose me to any degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Assurances of the Love

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and Mercy of God, in and through my blessed Redeemer, in whom only I trust; and I do not question, but that I am going to partake of that Fulness of Joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof does so wonderfully delight me, that I reckon this as the happiest time of my Life, though others may look upon it as the saddest.

any people I have lived, and now die of the Reformed Religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of England, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of some People. I wish with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were removed, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aside their Heats, and agree against the Common Enemy; and that the Church-men would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous: For I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and Bloody Religion; and therefore thought my self bound, in my Station, to do all I could against it. And by that, I foresaw I should procure such great Enemies to my self, and so powerful Ones, that I have been now for some time expecting the worst. And blessed be God, I fall by the Axe, and not by the Fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing against it basely, or inhumanly; but what could well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And I thank God, I have examined all my Actions in that Matter, with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Sincerely, without being moved, either by Passion, By-End, or Ill Design. I have always loved my Country much more than my Life; and never had any Design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preserving of it, and would have suffered any Extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life: Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me, And I look upon it as a very unhappy, and uneasy part of my present Condition, That in my Indictment there should be so much as mention of so vile a Fact; though nothing in the least was said to prove any such Matter; but the contrary, by the Lord Howard: Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the least of it. So that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for him, and wish well to him, and to the Nation, That they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith; That the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom may be preserved, and flourish under his Government; and that He in his Person may be happy, both here, and hereafter.

As for the share I had in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to Witness, that I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart; being then really convinced (as I am still) that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the Nation, and the Protestant Religion: And I likewise profess, that I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witnesses, which I look upon as so horrid a thing, that I could never have endured it. For, I thank God, Falshood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the furthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing, to carry on their Design: I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give their helping Hand to it. But I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation: though I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very sharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety, and Profaneness that abounds, and appears so scandalously bare-fac'd every where, gives too just reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shew'd Concern for the Publick Good, and who have appear'd hearty for the true Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) hath often given me many sad Thoughts. And I hope such of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I say in ill part, but endeavour to amend their ways, and live suitable to the Rules of the true Reformed Religion; which is the only thing can administer true Comfort at the latter End, and revive a Man when he comes to Dye.

As for my present Condition, I bless God, I have no Repining in my Heart at it. I know for my Sins I have deserved much worse at the Hands of God; So that I cheerfully submit to so small a Punishment, as the being taken off a few Years sooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly those concerned

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cerned in taking away my Life: And I desire and conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to submit to the holy Will of God, into whose Hands I resign my self entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give some touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that Business; which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of Popery, and that the Expectation of a *Popish Successor* (as I have said in Parliament) put the King's Life likewise in such danger, that I saw no way so effectual to secure both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations which were proposed, if they were sincerely offered, and had pass'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite altered, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of 'tother; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easy and safe under him, than a King without it, which must have bred perpetual Jealousies, and a continual Struggle. All this I say, only to justify my self, and not to inflame others: Though I cannot but think my Earnestness in that matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom that cannot be moved.

And to the conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemned, and which was made a constructive Treason for taking away the King's Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edw. the 3d.* I shall give this true and clear account. I never was at Mr. *Shepherd's* with that company but once, and there was no undertaking then of securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to view, or examine them: Some Discourse there was about the Feasibleness of it; and several times by accident, in general Discourse elsewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Shaftsbury's*, there being some general Discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaim'd against it, and ask'd, If the thing succeeded, what must be done next but massacring the Guards, and killing them in cold Blood? Which I look'd upon as so detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I see you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? And I must needs do him that Justice to declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence to all base things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepherd's*, I went with an Intention to taste *Sherry*; for he had promised me to reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of *Town*; and if he recollects, he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle; but when I tasted it, I said 'twas hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for me: Which he promised. I enlarge the more upon this, because Sir *Geo. Jefferies* insinuated, to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never said, that was the only Reason: And I will now truly, and plainly add the rest.

I was the day before this Meeting, come to *Town*, for two or three days, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languishing and desperate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, He was extremely glad I was come to *Town*; for my Lord *Shaftsbury* and some hot Men would undo us all. If great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepherd's* that Night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me; which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. *Rumsey* by the Chimney; though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more Heat, than Judgment, which I did sufficiently disapprove, and yet for these things I stand condemned. But I thank God, my part was sincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with these Heats and ill Designs, and did not discover them. But this is but Misprision of Treason at most. So I dye innocent of the Crime I stand condemn'd for, and I hope nobody will imagine that so mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my self, by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a rate.

As for the Sentence of Death pass'd upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one. For nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false, I will not now examine) but some Discourses about making some Stirs. And this is not levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of *Edward the Third*, and not the consulting and discoursing about

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it, which was all that was witnessed against me. But, by a strange Fetch, the Design of seizing the Guards, was construed, a Design of killing the King; and so I was at that call.

And now I have truly and sincerely told what my part was in that, which cannot be more than a bare Misprision; and yet I am condemned as guilty of a design of killing the King. I pray God lay not this to the charge, neither of the King's Counsel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury: And for the Witnesses, I pity them, and with them well, I shall not reckon up the Particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their own Consciences should do that, to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave them. Only I still averr, that what I said of my not hearing Col. Rumsey deliver his Message from my Lord Shaftsbury, was true; for I always detested Lying, tho never so much to my advantage. And I hope none will be so unjust and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in these my last Words, for which I am so soon to give an account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all Things.

From the Time of chusing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that Matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon me. And I wish what is done to me, may put a stop, and satiate some Peoples Revenge, and that no more innocent Blood may be shed; for I must and do still look upon mine as such, since I know I was guilty of no Treason; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (tho much pressed to it) how fatal soever it may have seem'd to have proved to me; for I look upon my Death in this manner, (I thank God) with other eyes than the World does. I know I said but little at the Trial, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was also advis'd not to confess matter of Fact plainly, since that must certainly have brought me within the Guilt of Misprision. And being thus restrained from dealing frankly and openly, I chose rather to say little, than to depart from Ingenuity, that by the grace of God I had carried along with me in the former parts of my Life, and so could easter be silent, and leave the whole matter to the Conscience of the Jury, than to make the last and solemnest part of my life so different from the course of it, as the using little Tricks and Evasions must have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great readiness in speaking: I wish those Gentlemen of the Law who have it, would make more Conscience in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, impose on easie and willing Juries, to the Ruine of innocent Men: For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of Law, is the worst sort of Murder: But I wish the Rage of hot Men, and the Partialities of Juries may be stopp'd with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more Joy, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.

Since my Sentence, I have had few Thoughts, but Preparatory ones for Death: Yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest Wife in the World, prevailed with me to sign Petitions, and make Addresses for my Life: To which I was very averse. For (I thank God) tho in all respects I have lived one of the happiest and contented'st men in the world, (for now near fourteen years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty, that I did any thing for the saving of my Life, that was Begging. But I was willing to let my Friends see what Power they had over me, and that I was not obstinate, nor sullen, but would do any thing that an honest Man could do for their Satisfaction. Which was the only Motive that sway'd, or had any weight with me.

And now to sum up all, as I never had any Design against the King's Life, or the Life of any man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Wickednesses, Passions, and Vanities of other men have occasioned, I ought not to be answerable for; nor could I repress them, tho I now suffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit; and trust that thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life, and that thou wilt not lay my secret Sins to my Charge; but wilt graciously support me during that small part of my Life now before me, and assist me in my last Moments, and not leave me then to be disorder'd by Fear, or any other Temptation; but make the Light of thy Countenance to shine upon me; for thou art my Sun, and my Shield: and as thou supportest me by thy Grace, so I hope thou wilt hereafter crown me with Glory, and receive me into the Fellowship of Angels and Saints in that blessed Inheritance purchased for me by my most merciful Redeemer, who is, I trust, at thy Right Hand, preparing a Place for me; into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

Signed

Will. Russel

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THE SPEECHES

Of Captain *Walcot*, *Jo. Rouse*, and *Will. Hone*,

On Friday the Twentieth of July, 1683.

Captain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to *Tyburn* in one Hurdle, *John Rouse* and *William Hone* in another, and there put into a Cart, the Reverend *Dr. Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and one of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, with *Mr. Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*, That this was the last time he had to spend in the world, and therefore desired him to make a good use of it, telling him, *That as death leaves him, so Judgment will find him*; and earnestly exhorted him to make an ingenious Discovery and Confession of what he knew touching the Conspiracy and Treasons of which he had been found guilty, and received Sentence to die.

To this Captain *Walcot* replied, That he had some Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to say in Writing, because his memory was bad; therefore he desired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then *Dr. Cartwright* and the Ordinary spake to *Hone* and *Rouse* to the effect before-mentioned, earnestly desiring them to confess the whole of what they knew; instancing some places of Scripture to them, as *Joshuah's* advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confess, and give glory to God whom you have dishonoured*, &c. telling them, they would have imbrued their hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to his Subjects; and whose Reign hath preserved the purity of the Protestant Religion amongst us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy: with other good admonitions for them to make clear Discoveries of the truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. Cartwright askt him if he could discover any more than he had done already.

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep. There was a Gentleman with me last night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very necessary, because he had a great many men to take Judgment of. I know not the particulars of the Deligny but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, *Mr. West*, and others that know more than I. I was never in Council with them, nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows.

THis great Concourse of people do not only come here to see me dye, but also to hear what I shall say; and because I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheist when I am gone, I have two or three words to speak for my Religion. I do believe in Three persons, and one God, and I expect and hope to be saved by the Merits and Righteousness of his Son Christ Jesus, without the hope of an advantage by any Merits or Righteousness of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God; that they were not written according to the will of Man, but holy men of God writ them as they were inspired by the holy Ghost.

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I believe that these Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the method of our Worshipping of God : I believe that as Christ is the head of his Church, so he is their Law-giver, That it is not in the power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or power upon earth whatsoever, to set up the Precepts and Traditions of men, and to make them of equal validity with the word of God. I believe it was not because the Jews rejected and Crucified Christ, that he rejected them, but because they rejected his Word ; which appears by the Three thousand that God by one Sermon of *Peters* Converted ; they being prickt in their hearts, and touched in their Consciences, cryed out, *Men and Brethren what shall we do ?* and they were that day added to the Church. It was certainly because the Jews rejected the Word and Gospel of Christ, that the things were hid from their eyes which belonged to their peace. It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God ; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a sinful course of life, till God withdraws his Spirit from us : For it is said, *it shall not always strive with man. Death is the wages of sin.* I believe had not *Adam* sinned, he and we his posterity had not dyed. Death is said to be the *King of Terrors*, but it is only so to those that are terrified with a terrifying Conscience, that have the arrows of the Almighty sticking in them, from Convictions of great guilt, and see no hopes of mercy, have no assurance of pardon ; but those that are Christs, he takes away the terror, and horror, and sting of death ; he enables them to say with *Paul*, *To me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain :* he enables not only to get unto Christ, but into Christ ; and so they have *Communion and Fellowship with the Father and the Son.* It is no hard matter to get the notions of the promises of the Gospel into our heads ; but unless the Lord is pleased to apply them to our hearts, we cannot believe : except we be in *Christ as branches in the Vine*, we are not Christians indeed. It was the case of poor *Francis Spira* ; he was certainly a knowing man, but notwithstanding he had not faith to apply the promises. Christ hath said, *that he that believes in him, though he were dead, yet shall he live ; and he that lives and believes in him, shall never dye.* So if we be able to apply the promises by the Spirit of God, we may have comfort through Faith : but then *Faith is the gift of God, and Faith comes by hearing the Word of God, and receiving it in the love of God.*

I shall not be tedious, Mr. Sheriff, I shall be very short.

Mr. Sheriff. Take your own time.

Walcot. As to the present occasion of my death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the Kings Council : I only blame some men that in reality and in truth were deeper concerned, and more engaged than I, that came in as Witnesses against me ; who Swore me out of my life to save their own, and who for fear they should not do it effectually, contrived that, That I will appeal to you all, whether there be a probability in it or not : for they said that I made it a scruple of Conscience to have a hand in killing the King ; or to embroil my hands in his blood, but was so generous as to undertake the Charging his Guards, whilst others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me so much an Idiot, that I should not understand it was the same thing to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another Killed him, as to Kill him with my own hands. But however, by their Swearing against me, they have secured their own Lives and Estates, and made my Blood the price of theirs. I confess I was so unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumsey*, (one of the Witnesses against me) to some meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our Liberties and Properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he, and Mr. *West*, and some Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great promoters of those Meetings. I was near a quarter of a year ill of the Gout, and during that time Mr. *West* often visited me, and still his discourse would be, concerning *Lopping the Two Sparks* ; That was the word he used ; meaning the King and the Duke ; and proposed it might be done at a Play : This was his frequent discourse : for he said, Then they would dye in their Calling : it was his very Expression. He bought Arms to do it with, without any direction of mine ; I never saw the Arms, nor I never saw the men that were to do it : though they said they had fifty employed to that end. I told several of them, That the Killing the King would carry such a blemish and stain with it, as would descend to posterity ; that I had Eight Children, that I was loath should be blemished with it : and withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Fathers Blood, if it were but to vindicate him-

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self from having any hand in it. Mr. West presently told me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuse to give an Engagement, that he would not punish those that should kill the King.

And now I desire to forgive all the World from the very bottom of my heart; and I pray God of his mercy from my heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who delivered me up, who promised to carry me into *Holland*, but instead of that, he brought me into the condition wherein I now am. I do desire with all my heart to forgive the Witnesses, and withal do earnestly beg that they may be observed, that some remarks may be set upon them, whether *their End be Peace*, and that *they die the common Death of all men*. Certainly, though it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may justly and reasonably put me to death for being in those Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think these men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betrayed me, and taken it away. Then in the next place I beg leave, Mr. Sheriff, to speak one short word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, though I was not so fortunate and so happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any man speak, nor speak themselves, that which they would not have repeated: for there is no such thing as Faith in man to man, whatever there is in man to God: either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpless Children, something or other will tempt and provoke men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Instruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to pass. And I do most heartily desire, and my earnest Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the last Blood spilt upon this account. I know Acts of Indulgence and Mercy in the King would make him much easier in his Government, and would make his People sit much easier under it; and that the Lord may incline his heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good man. What hath happened, and what hath been the present occasion of our Calamity, I suppose every man knows; what Provocations have been on the one hand, Fears and Necessities, Jealousies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, resolving to use my utmost endeavour, to make that Peace and reconciliation with my God, which is impossible for me to make with man; and to make it my hearty Prayer to the Great God before whom I am in little time to appear, That he would stench this Issue of Blood, and find out some other way to preserve these Kingdoms in Unity and Peace; to the Honour and Glory of his Great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One word, Mr. Sheriff, I desire leave to speak as to *Ireland*, because the King prest it hard upon me, and several people have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concerned in this matter. I do aver here, as in the presence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, That I do not know an English-man nor Protestant in *Ireland* engaged in it. What I did know, was onely of one Scottish Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he says he does not believe it. For they that were concerned, I was never in any of their Councils: I never saw any of those Lords, but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above six months ago. I never saw nor spoke with one Lord, onely my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* say, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it must follow *England*.

I have not more to say, Mr. Sheriff: but truly you will do an act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People; I think so: and so the Lord have mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for that which is their Vertue, and not their Crime; That they have been Witnesses for the King.

Walcot. I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for betraying of you in Contriving the War, upon which the death of the King must have followed, if your Treason had gone forward, for else you could not have defended your self from that Justice to which he hath brought you: and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witnesses, is indeed very strange.

Walcot. Sir, I think it was but reasonable that I should suffer that is due from Justice, and reasonable by the Law; but these men, they did not come in against me till they did it to save themselves.

Dr.

Dr. Cartwright. Better late than never: a man had better save his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do, for Crimes that ought to make every good mans heart relent; and therefore for your blaming them, it was for that which was their duty to do: they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious act.

Walcot. They have revealed it with that aggravating circumstance, which I think no rational man will be guilty of.

Dr. Cartwright. That circumstance which you call aggravating, is no aggravation at all: That is rather a mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that You were tenderer of the Kings person than to shoot him when he was not armed. But you confess you were consulting this Crime.

Walcot. I was not to have a hand in the Kings Death.

Dr. Cartwright. But it was proposed when you were there.

Walcot. It was so.

Dr. Cartwright. And it was agreed to be done.

Walcot. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed; I was there many Meetings.

Dr. Cartwright. These very Meetings you could not but be sensible of.

Walcot. There were several Meetings wherein the business of the Kings life was never spoke of.

Dr. Cartwright. That was agreed in those Meetings; but you had a tenderer Conscience.

Walcot. I say, they were for asserting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. Cartwright. I would fain have you explain that.

Walcot. Truly, Sir, since you do press me to speak, we were under general apprehensions, and so were those Lords that are likely to suffer, as I have heard; they were under general apprehensions of Popery and Slaverys coming in.

Dr. Cartwright. What figure was there of it? you had no Persecution at all; you were allowed by the Law to meet five in a house, besides those of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have been disturbed of late; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this for forsaking the Church of England: You have forsaken Communion with that Church in that way you were instructed from your Youth.

Walcot. I do not come here to dispute of Religion, but I come here to die religiously, if it please God to enable me;

Dr. Cartwright. I pray God enable you: but I would not have you charge that as a Crime upon the Witnesses, which was their Duty.

Walcot. I can't tell how to excuse my Witnesses for aggravating things against me, and making them worse than really they were.

Dr. Cartwright going to reply; *Walcot.* Pray, Sir, give me leave; for a man to invite a man to a Meeting, to importune him to this Meeting, to be perpetually soliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hanged, as they have done me-----

Dr. Cartwright. It was a Crime to solicit you to those Meetings; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it: if God had given you the grace to reveal them, the turn had been theirs which now is yours. And whereas you say you cannot excuse them, that is uncharitable.

Walcot. I do forgive them, and I desire with all my heart God would forgive them.

Dr. Cartwright. You confess you were guilty enough to take away your life.

Walcot. I was so. The same measure we mete to another, that measure God will mete to us: Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. Cartwright. Then you pray this may be the last blood spilt upon this account.

Walcot. I do so.

Dr. Cartwright. Would not you have Traytors brought to their end? You talk of spilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now spilt, when you do confess and own the guilt. But I shall give you no further disturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God would give you mercy. And then turning to *Hone*.

Dr.

Dr. C. Mr. *Hone* give glory to God, and unburthen your Conscience, for you have but a short time to stay here.

Hone. I have nothing further to say, but that I have been guilty of the Crime.

Dr. C. You are so?

H. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. C. I, and according to the Law of God? H. Yes.

Dr. C. You say according to the Law of the Land, a man may be sworn out of his life by false witnesses, but you were guilty of Conspiring the Death of the King, and raising an Insurrection?

H. Truly I must say as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in. *Thou sawest a thief, and thou consentedst with him*: So I say, that I was drawn in, I saw the thief and consented; I have looked upon my self since to be the more guilty of blood, and my Circumstance was to be drawn in, and insnared; for I never was at any of their meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick *Coffee-house* or *Tavern*, where they discoursed the matter of Fact: and I was to meet the K. and the D. of *York*, but I did not know at that time when, or where, nor what was my business.

Dr. C. But you were to assist? H. Yes, I promised that, to assist.

Dr. C. Do you beg God and the Kings forgiveness for it, from the bottom of your heart, that you have been guilty of this: *For if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the Ditch*; as well he that leads, as he that is led, although he that leads may fall deeper: There are circumstances make one mans Crime greater than another; The greatness of theirs do's not lessen yours.

H. I believed that then I was very near another snare: I was resolved to go down into the Country, and not meddle in the thing at all, and had been in the Country, but meeting with *Keeling*, (I freely forgive him for whatsoever is done,) he called me, and discoursing with him, I did say I was for killing the K. and saving the D. of *York*.

Dr. C. Why was you for saving the D. of *Y*.

H. I do not know what to say as to that: there was no reason.

Dr. C. What was your own private reason for killing the K. and saving the D. of *Y*.

H. As to that I think this, that the D. of *Y*. did openly profess himself to be a *R. Catholic*, and I did say I had rather dispose of the K. than the D. of *Y*.

Dr. C. Had you rather a *Papist* should Reign over us, as you take him to be, than the K.?

H. I do not know what to say to that.

Dr. C. That do's deserve a reason, Mr. *Hone*. You ought to give some reason of that, you cannot but have some reason; if you had had a design to kill the D. and save the K. then it might be to prevent Popery, but you say the quite contrary. God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous design.

H. I know as little of this as any poor silly man in the world; I was fain to gather it, I had it not so down right, I was drawn into it, however I am now to die: as for the Witnesses, I desire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. C. They have not wronged you, they have done their duty.

Dr. C. *Rouse* what say you?

Rouse. As a man and a Christian, in the first place, as God hath made me a Christian through his Grace, that the World may understand, that I do not dye as *Capt. Walcot* saies, an Atheist; I do here declare in the presence of God, and this vast number of people, what Faith I dye in; In that very Faith which was once delivered, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profession of, and is agreeable to the word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles, whereof Jesus Christ is the Corner Stone. There have been very various opinions concerning me, upon the account of the various employments that I have been exercised in, both here, and beyond Sea: It has been my lot to fall under such circumstances, and to fall under such misrepresentations and Censures, upon the account of some publick Employments, that I have been in for the K. and after I returned from *Flanders*, upon the ac-

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count of Disbanding, it was almost morally impossible for such a one in my capacity, to stand right in the affections and opinions of all people. When I was employed in *Flanders*, in the payment of that Army, I was then between 2 Rocks: I will leave it to the Judgment of all sorts of people, you know the Country, I need not particularise, nor reflect upon opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that education it pleased God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with, that debauchery in those times: and sometimes, more than once or twice, it was my lot that I was like to have been murdered for pleading for, and justifying the actions of the King of *England*. Since my return, and being employed under Sir *Tho. Player*, and some others about disbanding, there it came to my Lot, because I could not humour some Gentlemen, who neither feared God, nor honoured the King (I will not say so of all, for I know some were very worthy Gentlemen, that scorn'd any of those actions, which some would attempt. There is one worthy Gent. I can speak very honourably of) that so they might have their pockets full of money, did not value how the Accounts were stated, and at the very same time I was under many temptations of handfuls of Guineas in my hand to do so and so, to cheat the K. and because I would not do that, I was looked upon as a Jesuit. I did wave all these things under those circumstances. It hath been my lot likewise being employed by Sir *T. P.* and the rest of the Commissioners to fall into those Companies and places where my Lord *Shaftsbury* and others have been, and have had some kind of Discourse, which was not Treason, but rather a thing that I ever abhorred, and declared a detestation of: since these hurly burlys, concerning Parliaments going off, and coming on, did discontent the people upon one account or another, I confess I have been a hearer, and have understood too much of some kind of meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and especially those that call themselves Protestants, being 10000 times worse than any others. That there have been such kind of Designs, and Meetings, and Clubbs, I have not been ignorant of; God forgive me that I have not been as careful and as diligent, and as ready and forward to discover it a great while since. That I ever had a hand in it, or the least thought or resolution, or intention to appear in it, but rather, on the contrary, have declared my opinion against it both in the sight of God, and man, as a breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority. I do declare in the presence of God, I am a perfect stranger, and I thank God my Conscience is clear, I have acquainted his Majesty in Council, and I have had the Honour to be admitted into his Majesties presence in private almost half an hour on *Saturday* was seven night, where I was as clear and above board, and as faithful to his Majesty as I could be in an humble manner, according to my duty; where I offered to have some time, and place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the business: For there were a great many Gentlemen that had a respect for me; It was their opinions that I had a general Knowledge of all the Clubbs, and all the Designs that ever were since the King came in, but they were under a mistake. I gave his Majesty an account to the best of my knowledge, and when I had done, his Majesty seemed to be pleased, and to thank me for it; but before I had power to put it in writing, and wait upon his Majesty, the Providence of God did so order it, the Council thought it fit that I should be committed to Prison, where I was some days; I have had more kindness among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive them for it, I had not liberty to send to my Wife big with Child, in two days where I was.

Sir, I shall not hold you in suspense, and multiply words, but what is most proper to this occasion. What I have given to his Majesty in Council, and what I have spoken to his Majesty, in private, is nothing but the naked truth to clear my own Conscience, that I may not go out of the world with any thing upon me: I wish those that call themselves Protestants would discharge their duty better to God and
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the King, than either I or the best Subject ever did. I have lookt upon't as an obligation ever since I knew what it was to be a man, to carry my self obedient to those that God has set over me, especially the King and those that are in Authority; and I have made it my practice to pray for the King, as for my own soul. That it has been my lot to be acquainted with those vanities of Clubbs, and persons, no rational man will wonder, considering the Circumstances and places I was called to. There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*; I must desire the favour to clear my self by something that I took occasion to speak of yesterday. I did acquaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had spoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further discovery of what I had a mind to say. What was further said yesterday, it was nothing but the naked truth: In the first place, as to what was afterwards discours'd of, as to some particular persons, namely and particularly Sir *Thomas Player*, I must do justice to all the world. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none, here, will wonder; but that he hath been very shy of his Company since he came out of the *Tower*: for he told me many times, he never was in his company but once, for he did not like some things, and saw some designs that he was afraid were going on; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Player* was so ingenuous and honest to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very Loyal subject, and I must declare in the presence of God and all these people, I never heard him speak one dishonourable word of the King; what he may have had with others is best known to himself. I have been in several Clubbs eating and drinking, where it has been discourst to accommodate the Kings Son, the D. *M.* That there was a design to set up the D. of *M.* I will not say while the King reigns, though some extravagant hot-headed men have taken upon them to discourse these things, but not any worthy man: I know those that were worthy to be called by that name, have declared in my hearing, that in opposition to the D. of *T.* if the King be seised, they would stand by the D. of *M.* There are others, (I will not give nicknames to any, you are wise men, and know what I mean by speaking in the general,) that were for a Common-wealth, and some there were, two or three persons. I shall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me since it came to my lot to come to the knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of *M.* some for a Common-wealth, and some, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*: But that I think fell at last between these two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by discoursing here and there in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of these Gentlemens discoursing these things was only one at a time, especially a very industrious Gentleman that hath made it his practice a long time, (for it hath been my lot to be acquainted but two months and that too long,) which is the Witness that comes against me, and I pray God to forgive him, and I blame him not for discovering me, but for the words he spake himself, by way of instigating me to enter into a design against the King; they were his own words and not mine. I blame him not for discovering any thing whereby the King may be served. He did tell me several times there were Clubbs in *London*, but I could never get out of him the places where the Clubbs were. Yet I endeavoured what possibly I could to come to the bottom of that design, for my intent was to make a faithful and true discovery, that I might not go to *Whitehall* or a Justice of Peace, with an idle story, or a sham: but at last I got out of him that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly instrumental. This was a very few days before notice was given, this certain person *Thomas Lee* the *Dyer*, that he was sworn against by one *How*: I asked him the meaning. He told me that that *How* was a very Rascal. I asked *Lee*, Sir, what course shall be taken? for what by the *Dollers-Commons* of the one hand, and what by the persecutions of the other, we must think of a way how to relieve it. There is some design in hand, says *Lee*, don't you know? no, said I, I would be glad to hear.

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There is an invasion, said he, going on, a design against the King and the Government, but that was only a fallacy; but he discovered afterwards to me that there was a resolution, and a certain number of people about the City and the Nation, to make an attack upon the *Tower of London*, upon the *City of London*, upon *Whitehall*, and upon *St. James's*: I said what do you design then? have a care that you don't shed more innocent blood, for the Land is stained with blood too much already. No, saith he, the resolution as Mr. *Goodenough* saith, is not to spill a drop of blood, but only to secure the Kings person, that the Papists do not kill him, and then saith he we will deal with the D. of Y. as we please. They were his own words to the best of my remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was sworn against by one Mr. *Keeling* in *East-Smithfield*, saith he, he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have seen him but once these nine Months, and I had no discourse but only drunk a glass of drink; which proves since to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *Kings-head Tavern* in *Swithens-Ally* near the *Exchange*, news was brought, he was sworn against, he did not know what to do, but found out a place near *London-wall*, and desired me to go to one or two about the matter, he knew not how to obscure himself, his house was beset, Messengers after him, and likewise a kind of Judgment or Execution; how to put both ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would I had a bed, he might go to my house. I never heard a word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another of any design against the K. and the Government, whom I have known this seven years; only this *Lee* told me, his hand was as deep as any other. Its true, this Gentleman comes and swears against me, that I should be the only person to ingage in taking the *Tower of London*. *Sir John* — you know very well in what capacity I have been, and how very incapable I was in my person to take the *Tower of London*. I speak in the presence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few minutes, I never had any such thought, never had any such desire, never consulted with any persons of Quality, never discoursed of any Arms in order to it; But only this I was saying. This fellow being set on (and I think a more proper person than any man in the world) for that he was a little low in the world, he was under a temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptistical Church*, for some kind of failings, he was under a temptation to make himself somebody, therefore he did close with Mr. *Goodenough* and some others; and when the first Proclamation came forth, he himself told me, I never knew it before, that *Rumsey*, Captain *Walcot*, *Nelthrop* and *Goodenough* and *West* were concerned in this design, he was the man told me: and when the second Proclamation came out, then he could tell me of those too; I told him he was a wretch he had not discovered it betimes; as to his swearing against me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower of London*, the thing is this: He knew I was intimately acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage*, who was my servant 21 years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honest servant, I believe, to his Majesty for these 15 years, particularly five years in three of his Majesties Men of War. I know very well the man is of such a principle that he abhors to ingage in any wicked design. But only see discourting at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this answer, (for he is a very jocular man,) if I were of a mind to take it, were it for the service of the King, if there were an enemy coming in, saith he, I would with six Ships well manned and armed with Guns undertake to take the *Tower*: upon what account he said it, I don't know; but I believe in my Conscience he had no more design to put such a thing in practice, than I have to cut my own throat at present; Captain *Blage* had heard these discourses *pro* and *con*, saith he 2 or 300 men would do it, it's weak in such a place, I wonder his Majesty dos not make it stronger. Now when he came to swear, as soon as he was taken up, he took occasion to swear against me, all the discourse he used in pressing me to undertake this design.

Mr. Sheriff *Rich.*

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Mr. Sheriff Rich. Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, discover it, but you need not go over that which was in Court.

Rouse. Mr. Sheriff, I have nothing at all to say, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witnesses themselves, the greatest of all. I thank God I was not any way to have had any hand in it: but the very words themselves that came out of his mouth he makes me the Author of, but I freely forgive him, as I desire God would forgive me: tho he did tell me positively there were five hundred Arms to be brought out of the Countrey. I heard of such a thing, I confess, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubbs where it was discoursed: it was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windsor*, That there was several things to be done in order to it, That they wanted a place of meeting, and some thought of *Salisbury Plain*, and some of *Black Heath*, but the most convenient place pitched upon was *Black Heath*. They were discoursing how to gather the People together: Some were for communicating it privately, others for a Ball. They asked my Thoughts: said I, the best way will be, if you throw up a Silver Ball, to get the People together: for my design was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and discours'd him, and told him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball and declare, All those that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, shall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty thousand men in two or three dayes time, which otherwise would have been a fortnight a doing: but for himself, I will not blame him; nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I must needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he insulted upon shedding of Blood, but that he hath discoursed in very opprobrious terms and base Language of the Duke of *York*; by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and such things: and that *We will do his work*: That is true. And, that after the King's decease, the Duke of *Monmouth*, having a Vogue with the People, must of necessity succeed: I cannot tell what I can say more as to that; that is the chief thing I have to say, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Mr. *Rouse*, you would do well to name those Persons that were with you in that Consultation.

Rouse. There was no Consultation at all, Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Lee's* mouth himself, That there were five hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*, and *Nelthorpe*, and Mr. *West*, and that Mr. *West* particularly knew from whom these Arms were to come, for he gave me a hint that part of the Arms were bought by Mr. *West*.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Who propos'd the way of the Ball?

Rouse. Sir, he was saying, there was several Propositions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was, and some thought of one way and some another, but they could not find out a proper way; Saith he, what do you think? Said I, if the People meet together they may throw up a Ball, just in that careless way, I said so. So he came to me afterwards, and said, that he had discoursed with Mr. *Goodenough*, and Mr. *Goodenough* told him, that there was forty thousand pound in Bank, and if such a Ball cost thirty or forty pound, it mattered not, to carry on such a Design as that was.

Here Captain *Walcott* spake.

Captain Walcot. Sir, I desire you to take notice of this, among other things, that so far as I ever heard of this business, it is of no longer a date than *August* or *September* last: I would not have this Consequence of it, so as to stifle the Popish Plot.

Mr. Sheriff. Do you know any thing of the Popish Plot that hath not yet been discovered?

Capt. Wal. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the knowledge in *March* last of this business.

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Capt.

Capt. Wal. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *August* or *September* last.

Mr. Sheriff. Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to Walcot. Have you fully discharged your Conscience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being said that *Rouse* was interrupted,

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to say, *Mr. Rouse*, go on, but do not make Repetitions.

Who pulled his Paper out of his Pocket and looked on it.

Rouse. He declared further, *Mr. Sheriff*, That when once the thing came so far that the Tower and City was taken and so many Men gathered together, they would quickly increase; and the method was, to go to *Whitehall* with Swords in their hands, and to demand Priviledges and Liberties, not to take away the Kings Life, but only let the D. of Y. look to it: for he was resolved upon it that he should not succeed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and some more Notes in Short-hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully satisfied your Conscience.

Rouse. I have Sir a Word or two to speak to the People. I have discharged my Conscience as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it; but that I had a hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. C. You had a hand in the concealing.

Rouse. That I had.

Dr. C. And in maintaining the Correspondency without discovering it; and you do diminish your Crime.

Rouse. No Sir, I don't desire it. *Mr. Sheriff*, I do freely acknowledge and confess that it is just in God in the first place, and righteous and just in the King, that I die; and that I die justly for concealing it. I would lay no blame upon the King nor any other Person in the World. I did not conceal it upon any Account to his Majesty's Prejudice nor any Man in the Nation; and I hope God will give more Grace to those Persons that do succeed. I beg a Word or two I had almost forgot, as a Man and as a Christian, That it is a thing of such evil Consequence, I have found it by bitter Experience now, for such and such publick Places to be visited, especially by those that are Professors of the Protestant Religion, and particularly Coffee-Houses, where it is very well known too much time is spent, and Families, and Wives, and Children, suffer too much: I pray God the People may take notice of it and lay it to Heart that spend their time so, thinking it is but a Penny and a Penny; and so discourse of State-Affairs as if so be they were Gods Counsellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-House to the Tavern and from the Tavern to the Coffee-House, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age; and so bring them into this Dilemma to discourse of those Things neither pleasing to God nor the King, nor themselves, but their Prejudice. The Profanation of the Sabbath-Day is commonly discoursed of in this place; God forgive me for not observing it as I should. I pray God those that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the good of themselves, their Souls, and their Families; those that are young especially and coming up, that they may chiefly mind their Concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King and those that God has set over them, and not neglect that great Command to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being asked if they had any thing more to say, They said, No. *Mr. Ordinary* then prayed with them, and sung a Psalm; and then they desired to pray themselves; which was granted.

Captain

Captain Walcot's Prayer.

O Lord, our God, Thou art the God of present help in time of Trouble, a God, that hast promised to be with thy People in the Fire and in the Water. O Lord, we pray thee, that thou wilt afford thy presence to thy poor suffering Servants at this time, that thou wilt enable us to pray with Faith, to trust in thee, to be in expectation and hope of Mercy from thee. O Lord, thy Servant that speaketh doth confess, that the Iniquities at his heels have justly overtaken him, that just and righteous art thou in all thy Judgments, that he hath reason to bear thy Indignation, because he hath sinned. O Lord, we beg, even for thy Son Christ Jesus's sake, that our sins may not be brought to our remembrance in order to our despondency or discouragement, or our despairing in thy Mercy, but rather, O Lord, in order to an assurance that our great God hath pardoned and forgiven them in the Blood of his Son. O do thou bath each of our Souls in that Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleanness. Give us, O Lord, inward Spiritual strength from thy self, and give us cause to bless thy Name for inward supporting Graces, for inward assistances. O let us find an increase of spiritual strength, let us be assured that our Sins are done away, and let us also be assured that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and let it be such an assurance as may be matter of joy and rejoicing to our Souls. O do thou enable every one of us, from the inward evidence of thy Spirit, to say with thy Servant Job, That we know and are assured that our Redeemer lives. O do thou give us such an assurance of an Interest in thee, that we may be enabled in deed, in reality, and in truth, to say, that we have run our race, and we have finished our course with Joy: O let us now receive the fruit of those many Petitions that we have put up unto thee. O let us now find the Spirit influencing our Hearts to a yielding patience, and a thorow subjection to the Will of God: let us find thy Spirit assuring us that we are thine. O let us have stronger Evidences of thy Love, stronger Testimonies of thy Affection: O give us some inward Tastes of those heavenly Joys that we hope through the Mercy of Jesus Christ in a little time to have a more full Fruition of. O Lord, do thou speak peace to every one of our Consciences; enable us to take hold of thy Strength that thou may'st make Peace with us, and let us not be discouraged, O Lord, since we have a High-Priest that can be touched with our Infirmities: let us with Boldness have Access to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy and Grace to help in time of need. O take away the Sting and Terror that is in Death in any one of us, by assuring us of our Interest in thee, by assuring us that our Names are recorded in the Book of Life; tho we lye under a Sentence of Death from Man, we beg that we may have a Sentence of Life eternal from our God; and tho we meet thee, O Lord, in a Field of Blood, we beg that thou wilt come to meet with us in a Field of Mercy. O Lord extend thy Mercy, thou Lord whose Compassions faileth not, cause the Bowels of thy tender pity to yearn with Compassion towards us: enable every one of us, O Lord, to die believing in Jesus Christ, to die hoping in his Mercy, to die, relying upon him for Justification, for Sanctification, and for Adoption. O Lord, though we have been Prodigals, we desire to return to our Fathers House where there is Bread enough. O enable us to come unto thee as Children

dren to their Parents. O let our Prayers be offer'd with so much Fervour in Christ Jesus, that thou may'st think it reasonable to assure us of thy Love. O let the Intercession of Jesus Christ be accepted. O Lord, we beg that he may be our Advocate; if our Advocate be our Judge, certainly we cannot miscarry. O let Jesus Christ be the Hope of every one of our Souls; and Lord let not our Hope be like that of the Hypocrite, but let our Faith be built upon the Rock of Ages, and let us not fail from the apprehension of Affliction and Punishment from men. Yet, O Lord, do thou so order our Hearts and our Spirits aright, that thou may'st be the Lot of our Inheritance, and our Portion for ever. O do thou interest us in thy self; Lord carry on thy own Work. We desire to come unto thee that we may have life. Lord help us, Lord put to thy helping Hand, Lord teach us truly to leave no Sin unrepented of in any one of our Hearts. And O Lord, we beg that with us thou wilt give us leave to recommend unto thy Care our poor Wives and Children: Thou hast promised to be the Father of the Fatherless and the Husband of the Widdow; and thou hast commanded us to cast the Care of them upon thee. O do thou make Provision for them, deal kindly with them, imprint thy own Image upon them, and enable them to bear this severe stroke with Patience. O Lord, stand by and support them; let their Ways be found so pleasing and acceptable unto thee, that thou may'st think it reasonable to make all their Enemies at Peace. Lord, interest them in thy Love, and do thou favour them with thy Mercies and loving Kindnesses. O Lord, we also beseech thee in the behalf of these poor Kingdoms wherein we are, that thou wilt be merciful to them, prevent Divisions among them, heal all their Breaches, compose their Differences, make all that are thine of one Heart and Mind in the things of thee our God. And Lord, if it be thy Will, do thou rule in the Heart of the King, that he may rule and reign for thee, and for the good of thy Church and people. Lord, favour us with thy mercy, assure us of thy love, stand by us in the difficult hour, take us into thine own Care, cause thy Angels to attend us, to convey our Souls as soon as they are divided from our Bodies, into Abraham's Bosom, into the Paradise of our God. And Lord, we beg that thou wilt be with us, with thy extraordinary Presence, helping us to trust in thee, doing for us beyond what our narrow Hearts are able to ask or think. All which we beg for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom, O Lord, this little time do thou give us Hearts to give thee all Glory, Honour, and Praise, now and for evermore. Amen. Sweet Jesus, Amen.

Hones

H O N E's Prayer.

Glorious Lord our God, thou art the God of the whole Creation, and the God that created the Heavens and the Earth in six days; by thy power we stand here before thee: Lord, help us to be looking up unto Jesus Christ, who is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour to give Repentance to *Israel*, and Remission of sins. Now, Lord, for thy mercies sake we would be helped to say, That Power that raised up Christ from the dead, that is able to raise up our poor Souls before thee from Death to Life. O Lord, for thy mercies sake wash all our Souls in the Blood of Jesus Christ, *which speaketh better things than that of Abel*: and, Lord, for thy mercies sake pardon all our sins, from our first, our Original sins, and our sins of Sabbath-breaking, and our sins of Transgression, and the sin for which we are condemn'd; O Lord, pardon it, and let us not go out of the World with one sin hid in our Souls. For thy mercies sake pardon all our sins; and, Lord, do thou preserve this Nation, and put it into the heart of the King to be merciful, and to rule in Truth and Righteousness. And for thy mercies sake, rule the Affairs of this Nation, and help to rule and govern all things for the government of our Souls and our Spirits, for thy mercies sake; and help us that with joy we may be received into Glory, into the eternal Habitations: for Christ is sent into the World to that purpose, to save sinners, of whom we are chief. And, Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me have a true belief in Jesus Christ aright, to be looking up unto him for Life and for Salvation. Oh that we might perish if we perish, and be found doing thy will to the utmost of our power. Lord, accept of us, and help us and be with us this little time we shall be in this world. All which we beg for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory with the Kingdom both now and for evermore.

Mr. R O U S's Prayer.

O Lord our God, who art nearer to each and every one of us, than we are to our selves: It is not all the Confessions to men in the world, were it confessed by the Tongues of Angels, those glorious Spirits above, that can avail any thing with the great God, against whom we have sinned, or that can procure pardon for the least transgression which deserves eternal wrath. And therefore for the Sins that we have been guilty of, either against the first or the second Table, either against God as our Creator, Christ as our Redeemer, or the Holy and Blessed Spirit as our Sanctifier, the sins that we have committed against thy holy Church; and that Faith that I hope we die in the belief of, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Neighbours, upon one account and another, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Governours and Rulers, to whom thou hast obliged us under manifold obligations, both as Men and Christians, the sins that we have been guilty of in our several places, Relations and Capacities whatsoever, whatever have been their Circumstances and their Aggravations, the least whereof deserves everlasting death, without the Merits of Jesus; for all those greater or lesser sins, whether that original sin we brought into the world with us, that source and fountain, and foundation of all other sins, those actual sins and transgressions against any of those that thou hast set over us, or those that have been equal with us; those relation-sins, as Husband and Wife, as Master and Servant, in every relation and capacity; Lord forgive them, and wash them away in the blood of the Lamb of God, that stands at the right hand of the Majesty on high. And because we have no worthiness of our own to recommend us to thee, therefore we beg thee for thy Sons sake to fetch arguments from thy self. Our righteousness is as filthy rags, and the best of us are as a menstruous cloath. Fetch Arguments from the riches of thy grace, from the goodness of thy nature, from the multitude of thy mercies, from the blood of thy Son, from

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that

that blessed, eternal intercession that we hope he is making for us, and for all that belong to the election of Grace, and shall be brought to glory. Remember thy Churches, hasten the fulfilling of thy promises, the accomplishing of thy prophecies through the world, the downfall of the man of sin, and the destruction of all thy true Churches implacable enemies. Lord hasten the day of the calling the Jews, and the fulness of the Gentiles; put an end to Wars and rumours of Wars, let the desire of all Nations come. Dwell in these Three Nations, be a wall of fire round about them; prevent any kind of Insurrection at home, all manner of Invasion from abroad; let those that tarry behind, enjoy peace, and fruth, and righteousness. Dwell in and reign in the heart of the King, Lord bless and prosper him in his Person, give him a long, a prosperous, and an happy Reign. Good Father we pray thee, let him live here with a flourishing Crown upon his head, till thou in thy due time shalt receive him to an eternal Crown hereafter. Bless him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother. Bless him in his Royal Consort, make the King a Nurling Father, and the Queen a Nurling Mother. Confound all hatred, malice and envy, all evil speaking, every thing that is contrary to sound Doctrine, and give thy people that live under him, to shew that dutifulness and respect as becomes Christians, and as becomes Loyal Subjects. Bless the Clergy, by whatsoever Names or Titles distinguished, make them sound in their Doctrine, and make them useful and unblameable in their Lives and Conversations. Help them to mind the Souls committed to their charge, and help them to do their duty, that they may be able to say, behold here are we and the Children whom thou hast given us. Now Lord bless all the Nation from the highest to the lowest, from the Prince to the Peasant, of all sorts, ranks and degrees. Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou hast set as thy Vicegerent to Reign over us, who can do nothing but what is just and equal before thee, to whom he must give an account of all his Transactions, even to thee the King of Kings. And Lord grant peace and love and unity one among another, and the practical observation of thy holy day, and those duties that relate to God and Man. Grant that those that follow after us, may take particular Example by us. We must needs acknowledge and smite upon our thighs, that we in Justice are brought hither, that we have nothing to do, but to condemn our selves, and justify the Justice of the Land, and to pray God to bless his Majesty to Reign in these Nations, and those that shall succeed him upon the Throne. All which we beg upon the account of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was dead, and behold he lives, to whom with thy self and eternal Spirit, we desire to ascribe, as is due, all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

There was these Lines more in the Paper delivered by Captain Walcot, than what you have before seen.

AS to *Ireland*, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any body there, with being engaged in the matter for which I suffer, I might have had my Life; but by the blessing of God, I will charge no man wrongfully, no not to save my Life; and these being some of the last words I am to speak, I do aver I knew not an Englishman, or Protestant in *Ireland* any way engaged in it. Besides, I was told, they that were mostly concerned, did not value *Ireland*, and said it must of course follow *England*. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or false I will not determine.

F I N I S.

THE SPEECH

Of the LATE
Lord RUSSEL,

To the SHERIFFS:

Together with the PAPER deliver'd by him to them,
at the Place of Execution, on July 21. 1683.

Mr. SHERIFF,

The PAPER deliver'd to the
SHERIFFS.

I Expected the Noise would be such, that I could not be very well heard: I was never fond of much speaking, much less now; Therefore I have set down in this Paper, all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Designs against the King's Person, or of altering the Government; and I still pray for the Preservation of both, and of the Protestant Religion.

I am told, that Captain *Walcot* has said some things concerning my knowledg of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true, or not; I hope it is not: For to my knowledg, I never saw him, or spake with him in my whole Life; and in the Words of a dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the King's Life or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better. I forgive all the World, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animosities.

I Thank God, I find my self so compos'd and prepared for Death, and my Thoughts so fixed on another World, that I hope in God, I am now quite weaned from setting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear spending some time now, in setting down in Writing a fuller Account of my Condition, to be left behind me, than I'll venture to say at the Place of Execution, in the Noise and clutter that is like to be there. I bless God heartily for those many Blessings, which he in his infinite Mercy has bestowed upon me, through the whole Course of my Life. That I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantages of a Religious Education; which I have often thank'd God very heartily for; and look'd upon as an invaluable Blessing: For even when I minded it least, it still hung about me, and gave me checks, and has now for many Years so influenced and possess'd me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been so wonderfully (I thank God) supported, that neither my Imprisonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to discompose me to any degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Assurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my bless-

fed Redeemer, in whom only I trust; and I do not question, but that I am going to partake of that Fulness of Joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof does so wonderfully delight me, that I reckon this as the happiest time of my Life, tho others may look upon it as the saddest.

I have lived, and now die of the Reformed Religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, tho I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of many People. I wish with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were removed, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aside their Heats, and agree against the Common Enemy; and that the Churchmen would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous: For I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and Bloody Religion; and therefore thought my self bound, in my Station, to do all I could against it. And by that, I foresaw I should procure such great Enemies to my self, and so powerful Ones, that I have been now for some time expecting the worst. And blessed be God, I fall by the Axe, and not by the Fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing against it basely, or inhumanly, but what could well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And I thank God, I have examin'd all my actings in that Matter, with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Sincerely, without being inoved, either by Passion, By-End, or Ill-Design. I have always loved my Country much more than my Life; and never had any Design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the World, and would alwayes have been ready to venture my Life for the preserving of it, and would have suffered any Extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life: Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me. And I look on it as a very unhappy, and uneasy part of my present Condition, That in my Indictment there should be so much as mention of so vile a Fact; tho nothing in the least was said to prove any such Matter; but the contrary, by the Lord *Howard*: Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the least of it. So that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for him and wish well to him, and to the Nation, That they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith; That the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, and Safe-

ty of the Kingdom may be preserved, and flourish under his Government; and that He in his Person may be happy, both here, and hereafter.

As for the share I had in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness, that I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart; being then really convinced (as I am still) that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the Nation, and the Protestant Religion: And I likewise profess, that I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witnesses; which I look upon as so horrid a thing, that I could never have endured it. For, I thank God, Falshood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the farthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing, to carry on their Design: I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give their helping Hand to it. But I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation: tho I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very sharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety, and Profaneness that abounds, and appears so scandalously barefac'd every where, gives too just reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shew'd Concern for the Publick Good, and who have appear'd Heartily for the true Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) has often given me many sad Thoughts. And I hope such of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I say in ill part, but endeavour to amend their ways, and live suitable to the Rules of the true Reformed Religion; which is the only thing can administer true Comfort at the latter End, and revive a man when he comes to Dye.

As for my present Condition, I bless God, I have no Repining in my heart at it. I know for my Sins I have deserved much worse at the Hands of God; So that I cheerfully submit to so small a Punishment, as the being taken off a few Years sooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly those concerned in taking away my Life: and I desire and conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to submit to the holy Will of God, into whose Hands I resign my self entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give some touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that Business; which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of Popery, and that the Expectation of a *Popish Successor* (as I have said in Parliament) put the King's Life likewise in such danger, that I saw no way

way so effectual to secure both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations which were proposed, if they were sincerely offered, and had pass'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the power of a King; and the Government quite altered, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of 'tother; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easy and safe under him, than a King without it, which must have bred perpetual Jealousies, and a continual Struggle. All this I say only to justify my self, and not to enflame others: Though I cannot but think my Earnestness in that matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom which cannot be moved.

And as to the conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemn'd, and which was made a constructive Treason for taking away the Kings Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edw.* the 3^d. I shall give this true and clear Account. I never was at Mr. *Shepherd's* with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to view, or examine them: Some Discourse there was of the Feasibleness of it; and several times by accident, in general Discourse elsewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Shaftsbury's* there being some general Discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaim'd against it, and ask'd, If the thing succeeded, what must be done next but massacring the Guards, and killing them in cold Blood? Which I lookt upon as so detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I see you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? And I must needs do him that Justice to declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence to all base things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepherd's*, I went with an Intention to taste *Sherry*; for he had promised me to reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle; but when I tasted it, I said 'twas hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for me: which he promised. I enlarge the more upon this, because Sir *Geo. Jefferies* insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never said, that was the only Reason: And I will now truly, and plainly add the rest.

I was the day before this Meeting, come to

Town, for two or three days, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languishing and desperate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, He was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and some hot Men would undo us all: How so, my Lord, I said? Why (answered he) they'll certainly do some disorderly thing or other, if great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake use your Endeavours with your friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepherd's* that Night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me; which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. *Rumsey* by the Chimney; though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did sufficiently disapprove, and yet for these things I stand condemn'd. But I thank God, my part was sincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with these Heats and ill Designs, and did not discover them. But this is but Misprision of Treason at most. So I dye innocent of the Crime I stand condemn'd for, and I hope nobody will imagine that so mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my self, by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a rate.

As for the Sentence of Death passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one. For nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false, I will not now examine) but some Discourses about making some Stirs. And this is not levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of *Edward* the Third, and not the consulting and discoursing about it, which was all that was witness'd against me. But, by a strange Fetch, the Design of seizing the Guards, was construed a Design of killing the King; and so I was in that cast.

And now I have truly and sincerely told what my part was in that, which cannot be more than a bare Misprision; and yet I am condemn'd as guilty of a Design of killing the King. I pray God lay not this to the charge, neither of the Kings Counsel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury: And for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well. I shall not reckon up the Particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their own Consciences should do that, to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave them. Only I shall averr, that what I said of my not hearing Col. *Rumsey* deliver any Message from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, was true; for I always detested Lying; tho never so much to my advantage. And I hope none will be so unjust and

and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in these my last Words, for which I am so soon to give an account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all Things.

From the time of chusing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that Matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon me. And I wish what is done to me, may put a stop, and satiate some Peoples Revenge, and that no more innocent Blood be shed; for I must, and do still look upon mine as such, since I know I was guilty of no Treason; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (tho much pressed to it) how fatal soever it may have seem'd to have proved to me; for I look upon my Death in this manner, (I thank God) with other eyes than the World does. I know I said but little at the Trial, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was also advis'd not to confess Matter of Fact plainly, since that must certainly have brought me within the Guilt of Misprision. And being thus restrained from dealing frankly and openly, I chose rather to say little, than to depart from that Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carried along with me in the former parts of my Life, and so could easier be silent, and leave the whole Matter to the Conscience of the Jury, than to make the last and solemnest part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using little Tricks and Evasions must have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great readiness in speaking: I wish those Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more Conscience in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, impose on easy and willing Juries, to the Ruine of innocent Men: For to kill by Forms, and Subtilties of Law, is the worst sort of Murther. But I wish the Rage of hot Men, and the Partialities of Juries, may be stopp'd with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more Joy, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.

Since my Sentence, I have had but few

Thoughts, but Preparatory ones for Death: Yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the Best and Dearest Wife in the World, prevail'd with me to sign Petitions, and make an Address for my Life: To which I was very averse. For (I thank God) tho in all respects I have lived one of the happiest, and contented'st Men of the World, (for now very near fourteen years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty, that I did any thing for the saving of my Life, that was Begging. But I was willing to let my Friends see what Power they had over me, and that I was not Obstinate, nor Sullen, but would do any thing that an honest Man could do, for their Satisfaction. Which was the only Motive that sway'd, or had any weight with me.

And now to sum up all: As I never had any Design against the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of other Men have occasioned, I ought not to be answerable for; nor could I repress them, tho I now suffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done; into whose Hands I commend my Spirit; and trust that Thou, O most Merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life; and that Thou wilt not lay my secret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge; but wilt graciously support me during that small part of my Time now before me, and assist me in my last Moments, and not leave me then to be disorder'd by Fear, or any other Temptation; but make the Light of thy Countenance to shine upon me, for Thou art my Sun, and my Shield: And as Thou supportest me by thy Grace; so I hope thou wilt hereafter Crown me with Glory, and receive me into the Fellowship of Angels, and Saints, in that blessed Inheritance purchased for me by my most merciful Redeemer; who is, I trust, at thy Right Hand, preparing a place for me, and is ready to receive me: Into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

Entered according to Order.

L O N D O N,

Printed by John Darby, by Direction of the Lady RUSSEL. 1683.

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AN

[Bartolomew Shower]

DNB. 52. 167 B.

ANTIDOTE

AGAINST

POISON:

Composed of some Remarks upon the Paper printed by the direction of the Lady *Russel*, and mentioned to have been delivered by the Lord *Russel* to the Sheriffs at the place of his Execution.

THe Publishing of this Paper as the last Speech of a Dying Man, cannot but surprise all Persons who were present at the Trial of the Lord *Russel*, to read such Reflections upon the Judges, the Kings Council, the Sheriffs, and the Jury; the Fact so untruly represented, and the Offenders Innocence so strongly asserted, when they can all attest to the fairness of his Trial, the respectful Treating of him by the Kings Council, as far as was consistent with their Duty, without any strains upon the Evidence, to the favourable Demeanor of the Court towards him, not in the least aggravating the Crime beyond the Evidence, and to the fulness of the Evidence upon the Proofs produced: And therefore those who heard the Evidence, must acknowledg, that that Paper is so far from containing the *whole truth* of the Lord *Russel's* Case, that what of Fact is therein inserted, is wholly disguised, and untruly and unfaithfully set down. Neither doth the Lord *Russel*, in his Speech to the Sheriffs, ever all contained in that Paper to be true, nor the Paper to contain the *whole truth* of his Case, only saith he had set down in that Paper, all that he *thought fit to leave behind him*. No doubt he might have as well said, *All that his faithful Confessor advised him to leave behind him*.

For whosoever strictly peruseth the Paper, will not find the Ingenuity, Sincerity, or plain style of a Dying Gentleman, but may discover the peculiar Dialect of an Artist, accustomed to shadow Truth with doubtful and ambiguous Expressions; and the Paper artificially contrived and designed, to gratifie a Party, by a colourable asserting the innocency of the Criminal, Condemned by the Law for High Treason, and laying a Malitious Imputation upon the Government, for an unjust Prosecution of an Innocent Person to Death.

Whether the Paper doth truly state the Crime, upon the Fact proved, for which the Lord *Russel* was Condemned?

And whether it contain any plain denial of that Fact? will best appear by truly stating the Crime charged upon him by the Indictment, and the Fact proved upon him at his Trial.

The Lord *Russel* with others are charged by the Indictment with High Treason for Conspiring, Compassing and Imagining the Death and Destruction of the King, and raising of a Rebellion within the Kingdom.

And the Overt Acts wherewith they are charged, are their Meeting together, consulting and agreeing to raise an Insurrection and Rebellion, and to seize upon the Kings Guards.

At the Trial Colonel *Ramsay* did swear that there was a General Rising intended in *October* and *November* last, and that he was engaged therein. And that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was likewise engaged therein, in *November* last acquainted him, that the

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Duke

Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, Lord *Russel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and Mr. *Ferguson* were to meet at Mr. *Shepherd's* house in *Abchurch Lane*, and sent him thither with a Message to them; that accordingly he went thither, and found the Lord *Russel* and the rest there, and delivered to them the Message from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; which was, that it was high time to come to some Resolution about the Rising: That answer was returned, that Mr. *Trenchard* had assured them that in four hours time one Thousand Foot, and two or three Hundred Horse should be ready at *Taunton*. But now Mr. *Trenchard* required two or three days notice of the Rising, and therefore they could not go on at present; and that my Lord *Shaftsbury* must be contented.

He said the Answer was pronounced by Mr. *Ferguson*, and the Lord *Grey* spoke to to the same purpose. And being interrogated whether the Lord *Russel* were so near as to hear the Message, he said he was so near, and could not but hear it. And being asked by the Lord *Russel*, whether he consented to the Answer, he declared upon his Oath, that the Lord *Russel* did consent. And that they then treated and consulted of the General Rising. And both Colonel *Rumsey* and Mr. *Shepherd* did swear, That the Lord *Russel* and the rest did consult at Mr. *Shepherd's* about seizing of the Kings Guards. And having at a former Meeting appointed some of their Number, viz. the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, to view in what posture the Guards were, they made Report to the rest there, they found them very remiss in their Duties, and might be easily seized. Mr. *Shepherd* swore that their meeting at his house was not casual but appointed by themselves, and that they came late in the Evening, and that my Lord *Russel* mentioned not any private Business to him; neither had he then any private Business with the Lord *Russel*. But the Lord *Russel* pretending he came to taste some Sherry which he had bespoke of Mr. *Shepherd*, Mr. *Shepherd* denied upon his Oath, that the Lord *Russel* had bespoke any Sherry of him, or mentioned any such thing then to him.

The Lord *Howard* gave in Evidence upon his Oath, that there was a design of a General Rising, both in *October* and *November* last: and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* then acquainted him, he had Ten thousand brisk Boys ready. And after the Departure of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, it was thought necessary, for the preventing of Confusion, and more orderly managing of the Rising, that a select Council should be held for that purpose: And accordingly the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden* junior, and himself, met in *January* last at Mr. *Hambden's* House in *Russel street*, and debated certain Preliminaries to the Rising. Amongst others, Whether the Rising should be in *London* first, or in the Country first, or in both at once; and the major opinion inclined to have the Rising both in *London* and the Country at one time. That soon after they held a second Meeting at the Lord *Russel's* house; where all the last mentioned Persons were present, and where they again debated of the Rising, and then came to this resolution, That some Person should be sent into *Scotland* to invite some Persons thence, from the discontented *Scots* to treat with them, That they might be assured of what Assistance they might expect from the *Scots*. That that matter was committed by them to the special Care and Conduct of Colonel *Sidney*. And that Colonel *Sidney* acquainted him he had sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* accordingly; and that he had given him threescore Guineys to defray the charges of his Journey.

The Lord *Howard* interrogated by the Lord *Russel*, whether he said any thing in those Debates, declared upon his Oath that though his Lordship never used to speak much, yet he did speak in those debates, and consented to what was done.

This was the substance of the Evidence, though delivered by the Witnesses more at large, as will appear by their Depositions when they are printed with the Trial. A clearer Evidence to prove the Facts charged of Meeting and Consulting to raise a Rebellion within the Kingdom, and to seize the Kings Guards, I believe the most experienced Person in the Laws can never shew was ever produced at the Trial of any Traitor. To the greatest and strongest part of the Evidence, which is that of the Lord *Howard*, and so much of Colonel *Rumsey's* which relates to the General Rising, of which the Witnesses make full proof, the Paper gives no answer at all. With what confidence then can the Author of that Paper introduce a dying man, asserting his own Innocence, and charging the Jury with forwardness and injustice, when the Criminal cannot deny the Facts upon which the Jury gave their Verdict. But these Facts, whether true or false, the Criminal would not examine, And if he could not, or would not assert them to be false, no man of any common Ingenuity can doubt them

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to be true, when sworn by credible Witnesses, and found by a substantial Jury. Yet to satisfy the Conscience of a dying Man, and to cover the Scandal of so great a Crime from vulgar or partial Eyes, these Consultations and Conspiracies to raise a Rebellion, and foment a General Rising, are represented to the People onely as some Discourses about some *Stirs*. They may be in *Scotland* some *Stirs*, but in *England* they are and ever were siled Rebellion.

As to the other Branch of the Overt Acts of Consulting to seize the Guards, which the Paper makes the onely Crime for which the Lord *Russel* was condemned; this account is given by the Paper, That the Lord *Russel* was at Mr. *Shepherds* house with that Company but once, and there was no Undertaking then of securing and seizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them: some discourse there was of the feasibility of it, and several times by accident in general discourse elsewhere.

This account which the Lord *Russel* gives of this matter, is rather a Confirmation of the Testimonies of Colonel *Rumsey* and Mr. *Shepherd* than an avoidance thereof: He admits the feasibility thereof was then discoursed of, and at other times likewise. They swore that the Persons appointed to view the Guards, reported then they found them to be very remiss in their Duties, and might be easily seized. The Lord *Russel* remembers he was at Mr. *Shepherds* house but once, *Shepherd* swore he was there with that Company twice, and at the last time the Report was made after viewing of the Guards.

The seizing of the Guards was not the onely nor principal Fact upon which the Lord *Russel* was condemned, as appears by the Proof stated; but it was one of the Instances to make out against him the general design of raising a Rebellion, as one of the properest ways to secure the general Rising, and was sufficiently proved by two Witnesses to have been consulted upon to that purpose.

Indeed to what other purpose can any man imagine the Lord *Russel* and his Accomplices, who appeared to have been engaged in a Design of a General Insurrection, upon such proof as the Criminal could not deny the Fact, should so often discourse of the feasibility of securing the Guards, as is confessed by the Lord *Russel*, than in order to facilitate and secure their design of the General Rising? And the Discourse the Paper owns to have been at the Lord *Shaftsburies* touching the same matter, who throughout appears to be a principal Agent in the Design of the General Rising, proves the seizing of the Guards to be part of that Design. And though the Lord *Russel* then expressed a tenderness of shedding cold blood, as a thing detestable, and so like a Popish practice; yet that Deluge of Blood which must necessarily have ensued in the heats of a General Rising, which is evident he pursued to his last, did not at all affect him, because this might become any Heroick Christian drawn in Armour by the Penfil of the Author of *Julian*: and is not unlike to the practices of the ancient Christians, so shamefully disguised by the same Author.

If then the Facts whereof the Lord *Russel* was found guilty by the Jury upon such pregnant proof be so evident, how is it possible for a dying man before God and men to assert his Innocency with such assurance, and so frequently repeated in his Speech to the Sheriff, though short, yet twice repeated; 1. *God knows how far I was always from designs against the Kings Person, or of altering the Government.* 2. *I profess I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government.*

In the Paper delivered; it is thus expressed; *Whatever apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a thought of doing any thing against it, basely or inhumanely, but what could consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* Again; *I have always loved my Country much more than my Life, and never had any design of changing the Government; and would have suffered any extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the Kings Life.* In another place he thanks God his part was sincere and well meant, and affirms his Crime to be but Misprision of Treason at most; and infers, *so I die innocent of the Crime I stand condemned for; also he saith, I know I was guilty of no Treason.* In the last place he concludes, *As I never had any design against the Kings Life, or the Life of any man whatsoever, so I never was in any Conrivance of altering the Government.*

Half an eye may see their strokes are all drawn by the same hand with all imaginable Skill, to quiet the Conscience of a dying Criminal, and at the same time by casting a mist before the eyes of the unthinking Multitude, to possess them with the Innocence of the condemned Person and the cruelty of the Government towards him.

Let it be considered with what careful Restrictions and Limitations his Innocency is usher'd in: That he knew of no Plot or design against the Person of the King, or to Kill the King, or to alter or change the Government; That he never had a thought of doing any thing basely or inhumanly, but what could consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; That his Crime was but Murther of Treason at most, and so he is innocent of the Crime he stands Condemned for. What need of all these cautions, restrictions and evasive circumlocutions to a plain man at the hour of his Death to express his Innocency by? If it had been real, a few plain words would have done it better. *viz.* That he was not engaged in nor knew of any design of making an Insurrection or Rebellion within the Kingdom. He heard the proof made and knew that was the Crime laid to his charge, which is High Treason both at Common Law and within the first branch of 25. *Ed. 3.* But that was too clear a matter for a dying Man plainly to deny; his Conscience must have controlled him.

And to let every Man understand the Subtily of that paper in declaration of the Lord *Russel's* innocence with such restrictions: It is necessary to be known that there were two parts in this horrid Design, one was a general Rising managed by a select Council, wherein the Conspirators according to their different Principles had their different ends, some were for a Common Wealth; though the fewer in number; others were for continuing the Monarchy and Government, but with exclusion of his Royal Highness. Of this later sort were the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Lord *Russel*, who plainly sets down in the Paper the Duke of *Monmouth's* opinion of him, that they were both of a temper. And the Lord *Russel* gives his opinion of himself, that his earnestness in the matter of the Bill of Exclusion, had no small influence in his present sufferings: though spoken by him with great reflection upon the Government, yet it truly seems to have been the natural cause of those Extravagancies he was led into; his zeal in that matter transporting him to seek that by force, which the King had before denied in a course of Parliament.

The other part of the Plot was downright assassinating of the King and the Duke of *York*; this was managed by a Council of Ruffians, who according to their principles, judged this the most expeditious and safest way to secure the General Rising, and render it more effectual. This was made out beyond all peradventure by many Witnesses at the Trials of Captain *Walcot* and *Hone*, the latter whereof, besides the proofs against him, confessed himself to be one of the Number who had engaged themselves to kill the King. For this latter horrid Fact of Killing and Assassinating, the Lord *Russel* was not accused thereof, nor any proof offered to make it out.

And therefore his frequent professions of his innocency as to any Plot or Design upon the Kings Life, or to Kill the King, or his knowing any thing thereof, and of his abhorrence thereof as an inhumane, base, vile, and barbarous Act, which Epithites the Paper gives to that fatal Fact, are no plain declarations of his innocence as to the Crime charged and proved upon him, of Conspiring and Consulting to raise an Insurrection within the Kingdom.

And 'tis evident by the Lord *Russel's* restraining the expression of his Innocency to the design upon the King's Life, and to killing of the King, and omitting to mention the general Rising, which was fully proved upon him; that the Lord *Russel* intended only that Crime for which *Hone*, and *Walcot* were condemned of Assassinating the King.

The other restriction of his Innocency, as to any design for Alteration, or Change of the Government, which he esteemed the best in the World; which amounts to no more then that he had no design himself, nor knew of any to throw off Monarchy, and to introduce a Commonwealth; which was never charged upon him, and may easily be presumed to be such a Government, as was no ways agreeable to his height of Spirit.

But this is no denial of his being engaged in any design to make an Insurrection, though his end in such Insurrection were far short of Killing of the King, or Changing the Monarchy.

Let it be supposed to be only to overawe the King, that a Parliament might sit to pass the Bill of Exclusion, and other Bills, for the security of the Protestant Religion, or other specious pretence whatsoever; which is the best Construction can be put upon the Lord *Russel's* Case.

That he had a part in the Insurrection, is evidently proved, and not denied by him:

him : But he saith his part was sincere, and well-meant. What that sincere meaning was, he doth not plainly tell us; which becomes a Dying Man to do : But leaves us to conjecture from the other parts of the same Paper, what his sincere purposes were. His zeal for the Bill of Exclusion, and Detestation of Popery, which accompanied him to his Death, argue his sincere intention in the Rising, to be something that was for the promoting of the Bill of Exclusion, and the utter Extirpation of Popery. Yet he professeth, that notwithstanding all his zeal against Popery, that he never had a thought of doing any thing against it Basely, or Inhumanly, but what would well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

This again renders the matter difficult, to guess at his sincere meaning in the Design. But the Compiler of the Speech, hath so ordered the Composition of the Sentences by the discreitive Particle *But*, that room is left for the Dying Person, to intend nothing to be inconsistent with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, but what was base and inhumane, as the Assassination of the King and Duke is judg'd to be; and that an Insurrection only to compel the King to pass such Bills, as his Protestant Subjects conceived necessary for the Preservation of their Religion, was no base and inhumane thing, and therefore not inconsistent with the Christian Religion, but for the support of it; nor with the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, which allow in the opinion of too many, both more antient and modern Fomenters of Rebellion against Princes, a Liberty in the People to acquire that which they apprehend to be their Right, and for their Preservation, by force, which they cannot obtain from their Princes by fair means, upon the account of a Supream Law for preservation of themselves, and their Religion, inherent to all Governments.

To this purpose was prepared and published that venomous Book of *Julian*, so much hugg'd and applauded by the Conspirators, as a fit Plaister compos'd of Antient Christian Practices, for such Consciences who might entertain the least scruple against Infamous Libelling of their Prince, or using any Force or Coersion upon the Government. To the same purpose have been Printed, and Reprinted of late, divers Seditious Books and Pamphlets; and another was preparing for the Press, by one of the Conspirators : *To assert a Supremacy in the People, to determine for themselves, against their Prince.*

The Northern Climate hath of late furnished us both with Doctrines and Examples of the same Batch. The Compiler of the Speech, was without question acquainted, if not infected with those Doctrines, Tenets, and Examples, and therefore may be presumed to lie under that great Delusion, that it was lawful for Subjects to procure from their Princes by force, whatever they judg'd necessary for the preservation of their Civil, or Religious Rights; so in the doing thereof, their parts were sincere and well meant.

When nothing is clearer by the Laws of this Kingdom, than that to raise a Rebellion, or make an Insurrection, be the design or intent thereof never so speciously good, is High Treason; And it is apparent, that the Lord *Russel*, or the Author of that Paper, was misguided in two principal and plain Points of Law.

First, That Meeting and Consulting to make an Insurrection, and in order thereunto to S seize upon the King's Guards, which the Paper calls Stirs, is not Treason within the Statute of *Edward 3.*

Secondly, That the Lord *Russel's* being present at the several Consults for managing the Insurrection, and his part therein amounted only to Misprision of Treason, and so concludes himself innocent of the Crime he stood Condemned for, which was High Treason, for compassing the Death and Destruction of the King, by Conspiring to raise a Rebellion within the Kingdom.

These mistakes of the plainest Points in Law, are the only supports of the Lord *Russel's* Innocency, whereby he comforted himself at his Death, and may mislead others into the same Ruin.

To prevent which, it is conceived seasonable upon this occasion, to state clearly what the Law of the Land is upon those Points, to the common understanding of every Subject.

As to the first Point, The Meeting and Consulting to make an Insurrection against the King, or raise a Rebellion within the Kingdom, be the end thereof never so specious for Publick Good, though the Rebellion be not actually raised, is High

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Treason

Treason by the Laws of this Land. It was so at Common Law, by the consent of all the Books of Law that Treat of that Matter, and no one Authority against it. It is so since the Statute 25. *Edw. 3. Cap. 2.* within the first Branch of that Law against Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King. The Death of the King in that Law, is not restrained to killing of his Natural Person, but extends as well to Civil Death as Natural. To Conspire to Depose the King, is equally High Treason with that of Killing the King: So for Imprisoning of the King, or seising or taking of him into the power of his Subjects, or for laying any Force or Restraint upon him, until he do what his Subjects would have him. These are all High Treason, for compassing his Death, either Natural or Civil; and all Overt-Acts, which declare the intent of effecting any of these Crimes, as all Meetings, Consultations, and Agreements to rise in Rebellion, and to seise upon the King's Guards, which are his defence against Force, and invite the aid and assistance of the King's Subjects of any other of his Kingdoms, plainly are Overt-Acts, of compassing the King's Death; and so have been adjudged in all Times, when ever such Case came into Judgment.

In the 2. and 3. *Phil.* and *Mar.* one Constable dispersed divers Bills in the Night about the Streets, in which was written, *That King Edward the 6. was alive and in France;* and at another time, in *Colemanstreet*, pointed to a young Man, and said, *He was King Edward 6.*

These things tending only to Depose the Queen, were adjudged High Treason, for compassing her Death; and Constable was thereupon Indicted, Attainted, and Executed. The Case is cited in *Calvins Case*, Co. 7. *Rep. Fol. 106. 13. Eliz. Dyer*, 298. Doctor *Story* practised with the Governour of *Flanders*, to invade the Realm with Force, and declared by what means, and in what manner and place the Invasion might be: No Invasion following, it was refer'd to all the Judges, to consider what Crime it was, who resolv'd it to be High Treason; Because an Invasion with Power, could not be, but of necessity it must tend to the Destruction, or great Peril of the Queen.

1. *Fac.* The Lord *Cobham* Conspired with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and other the Kings Subjects, to make an Insurrection within the Realm, in order to set up the Lady *Arabella Steward* to be Queen: And to this purpose, Treated with the Ambassador of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, for procuring Money from the King of *Spain*, and persuaded the Lady *Arabella* to write Letters to the King of *Spain*, for his assistance with Forces, and Letters sent accordingly; though the Insurrection did not follow, but a Discovery made before it was put in execution. The Lord *Cobham*, and others of the Conspirators, were Indicted of High Treason, for Compassing the Kings Death, and the several Meetings and Consultations for making the Insurrection, and procuring the Invasion laid in the Indictment. The Lord *Cobham* was Tried by his Peers, Attainted, and Executed. The Lord *Hale*, in his Pleas of the Crown 13. takes notice only of the Overt-Act of writing the Letters to a Foreign Prince, inciting an Invasion, which he allows to be a sufficient Overt-Act of that Treason which was laid in the Indictment, for Compassing the Death of the King.

In the same Year of 1. *Fac.* the Lord *Grey*, and other Conspirators, met and consulted to make an Insurrection, whereby they designed to seise the King into their power, until he should grant them a Pardon for all Treasons, a Toleration of the exercise of the Popish Religion, and the removal of Twelve of the Privy Council, and should make the Lord *Grey* Master of his Horse; and several others of the Conspirators, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, and other great Officers.

They were Indicted for Compassing the King's Death, and raising a Rebellion within the Kingdom, and no other Overt-Acts laid in the Indictment, but several Meetings, Consultations, and Agreements between the Confederates, to raise a Rebellion for the purposes aforesaid.

The Lord *Grey* was tried by his Peers, and had Judgment to be Drawn, Hanged and Quartered.

In Sir *Henry Vane's* Case, Meeting and consulting about Treason, were held sufficient Overt Acts.

In *Plunkets* Case lately in the Kings Bench; the Indictment was for High Treason, in compassing the death of the King; the Overt Acts alleged against him were Consulting to raise an Insurrection in *Ireland*, and bringing of the *French* into *Ireland*, and Collecting money in *Ireland*, and holding Correspondencies in *France* for that purpose. There was no proof of any design upon the Kings natural Person, which was in *England*; yet

Yet he was attainted, and executed for High Treason, though no Insurrection or Invasion followed; so that there can be no Question at this time of day, but that Meeting and Consulting to raise a Rebellion; though it be not an actual levying of War within another Branch of the Statute of 25 *Edw. 3.* yet they are Overt Acts of Compassing the Kings Death, within the first branch of that Statute.

The other gross Mistake is, that the Lord *Russels* Crime was onely Misprision of High Treason.

Misprision of High Treason is the Concealment thereof by a person who had a bare knowledge of the Treason, without any mixture of his consent. But if the person be present at the Debates and Consultations, though he say nothing, if he do not immediately reveal, but continues to meet and be present at their Debates, he is a principal Traitour. Where a Person was not present at the Debates and Resolves, but is afterwards acquainted with them, and give his Consent thereto, it is High Treason, and not a Misprision barely.

This was the Case of *George Brooke*, to whom the Lord *Cobham* related the whole Conspiracy of setting up the Lady *Arabella*, who consented to the same, and was Indicted and attainted as a principal Traitour in that Conspiracy. Now the Lord *Russel*, as he puts his own Case of being present at several Meetings where seizing of the Guards were treated of, and horrid things spoken, argues himself guilty of High Treason, though he make a false Conclusion from those Premisses that 'twas but Misprision. But the Witnesses proving his frequent Meetings and Consults, and the last of them at his own house, and his express consent to the Matters debated and agreed upon, do put it beyond a Question to any man that desires not to be wilfully deceived, that the Crime of the Lord *Russel* was not a bare Misprision of Treason, but High Treason in the highest degree, being to raise a Rebellion against the King, the Consequence whereof, in all probability, would have been the destruction of the King, and subversion of the Government, if not the desolation of the whole Kingdom.

If after this plain Account of the Lord *Russels* Case, any persons be so hardy to think the Compiler of that Paper of greater skill in the Laws of the Land than the Reverend and Learned Judges, who have judged his Crime to be High Treason, the utmost comfort he can expect for his being deceived, is, that he shall have the like comfortable Speech prepared for him upon the like occasion.

FINIS.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Charles Mearne*, Stationer to his most Excellent
Majesty. 1683.